How long before the madness and the sorrow end?
A mother's hand lights a vigil lamp on Memorial Day at the grave of her son killed in World War II. This was in Pittsburgh. Last week in Moscow (see p. 4), in Colombo, Ceylon (see p. 3), in the U.S.A. (see right) voices were raised for peace and coexistence. The possibilities exist today for a vast network for sanity. Will you tune in?

WHAT KHRUSHCHEV SAID ON TV . . . P. 4

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RADIATION PERIL CITED

2,000 U.S. scientists ask a world ban on Bomb testings

By Elmer Bendiner

THE U.S. last week consulted its scientists and followed its politicians. Operation Plumb-bob went ahead in the Nevada desert on schedule, in defiance of the most awesome warnings ever handed a government. Scientists by the thousand last week were declaring that future generations might curse this one for leaving a poisoned heritage—that this generation itself suffered in some way with every atomic blast.

The U.S. exploded Bomb No. 2 in its 1957 series. The British exploded their second one in the Christmas Island region. Some scientists said the atmosphere was already almost loaded with radioactive fall-out from past U.S. and Soviet explosions.

Dr. Linus Pauling head of the division of chemistry and chemical engineering at the California Inst. of Technology and 1954 Nobel Prize winner, rallied 2,000 distinguished signers in an "appeal by American scientists to the governments and to the people of the world" to ban the testing of atomic bombs. The statement said that "each added amount of radiation causes damage to the health of human beings all over the world" and might multiply "the number of seriously defective children . . . in future generations."

(Continued on Page 8)

The Jencks decision

At press time it was learned that the Supreme Court had ordered a new trial for New Mexico labor leader Clinton Jencks, sentenced to five years on a charge of filing a false non-communist affidavit in violation of the Taft-Hartley Law. In its 7-1 decision the Court said that the Government must open its secret FBI files for inspection by a defendant or drop its case. The GUARDIAN will discuss the full significance of this decision next week.

THE DEADLY MUSHROOM
One of the Nevada series

THE GOVERNMENT PROPAGANDA SPIRAL

Labor made the goat for inflation

By Lawrence Emery

LAST JANUARY President Eisenhower in two reports to Congress suggested that wage increases were causing inflation. In his Economic Report he said: "Of particular importance in a prosperous economy is the responsibility of leaders of business and labor to reach agreements on wages and other labor benefits that are consistent with productivity prospects and with the maintenance of a stable dollar." He declared that "high costs of raw materials and wage increases that tended to outrun the year's small gain in productivity were pervasive factors making for higher prices."

The question of the root cause of inflation is almost as old as the debate on the priority of the egg or the chicken. Traditionally, the government has avoided (publicly, at least) throwing its weight on either side of the argument. But since the president took his stand at the beginning of the year, two things have happened.

A DOCUMENT IS ISSUED: Big Business spokesmen, taking their cue from him, have worked up a massive propaganda to the effect that high wages are ruining us all. And the Senate probe of some malpractices in the trade union movement has served to develop an anti-labor atmosphere—with labor on the defensive.

In the midst of this, the Labor Dept. on May 18 issued an official report on "Productivity, Earnings, Costs and Prices." It was a highly complex and technical document. It was carefully worded, carefully qualified, and inconclusive. But its implications seemed plain; Edwin L. Dale Jr., economics writer for the N.Y. Times, reported that it "strongly implies that excessive wage increases have been a key cause of the rise in prices of the last decade." He found the report newsworthy because "this idea is vigorously disputed by labor unions and some economists" and noted that "the government had never put its weight on either side of the argument before now."

THAT OLD SPIRAL: Labor's Daily read the same inference into the report. It wrote on May 22: "For the first time on record, the government, i.e., the Eisenhower Administration, has made an effort to pinpoint responsibility for the

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'GIVE US THE BALLOT . . .'

Warning to both old parties is clear in Negro drive for big registration

By Eugene Gordon

ON MAY 17 in Washington Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., speaking at the Prayer Pilgrimage, urged that Negroes be given the ballot so they "will no longer have to worry the Federal government about their basic rights." His speech was in key with the growing Register-and-Vote campaign among Negroes, a drive to integrate Negroes into the fabric of life in the U.S., when Negroes will elect and be elected as a matter of course.

In Atlanta last month Negro voters underscored the campaign by insuring the election of liberal Mayor Hartsfield to a sixth term, sweeping into office for a second term the School Board's first Negro member, and forcing a run-off election in the race for alderman between a Negro and a white candidate.

A NARROW MARGIN: In the 11 Atlanta districts where they predominate Negroes gave Hartsfield 13,321 votes to 1,337 for his opponent Archie Lindsey. Hartsfield was elected by the close margin of 4,000 votes in a total vote of 71,000.

Georgia's Gov. Griffin was so worried by these political stirrings that, accord-

(Continued on Page 9)

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Vol. 9, No. 34 401 June 10, 1957

REPORT TO READERS

K. on CBS-TV

NO MATTER WHAT you may think of the content, that Sunday afternoon television broadcast of Khrushchev's to at least 10,000,000 Americans was something to send chills up the spine of capitalism.

It was as if flights of Soviet heavy bombers had pierced the D.E.W. (Defense Early Warning) Line and rained leaflets on every American city and hamlet.

Worse than that, it was as if the D.E.W. Line crews strung across Canada up near the Arctic Circle had switched off their radars, sonars or what have they, and connived to let the raider through with his lethal argument.

AND WHAT DID K. SAY that was new, courtesy of the Columbia Broadcasting System? Well, for one thing, he said that the U.S.S.R. was catching up with its last competitor, us, in agriculture; that they figure to more than triple meat production in four years; and that by next year they will be upsticks with us in per capita production of milk and butter. (That gives Ezra Benson an unexpected deadline; he'd better sell them that aging stockpile of surplus butter this year, otherwise it will all have to be reduced to the unfastidious **ghee** which is our chief contribution to the Battle for what President Eisenhower has called the Indonesian Empire.)

ON ANOTHER TOPIC which is close to K.'s heart, the last time we heard from him on it was via a cocktail party remark to the general inelegant effect that "we will dance at your funeral."

This time he put it more genteelly:

"I can prophesy that your grandchildren in America will live under socialism. And please don't be afraid of that. Your grandchildren will be [translator faltered] will not understand how their grandparents did not understand the progressive nature of a socialist society."

Now no American socialist sect, from the sublime (Socialist Labor Party) to the S.D.F., has dared to predict such a turn of events in two generations. And men and women in this generation, merely for trying to make people understand the progressive nature of a socialist society, have had meted out to them prison sentences totalling several hundred years under our Smith Act.

FOR JUST INVITING DEBATE on the matter, **the American Forum—for Socialist Education** was scarcely a day old when subpenas were issued for some of its founders last month by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee; and that most leather-lunged of our free press, the N. Y. Daily **News**, called for the Attorney General to "look into this mob." (At New York's Community Church on Park Ave. at 35th St. on Wed. June 12, the new American Forum, nothing daunted, is having its first public meeting. Come one, come all. K. will not be represented among the speakers, but via CBS he has certainly made further scarifying of mere argufiers on the subject downright ridiculous.)

UNLESS—this is really unthinkable, but we'll say it anyway—unless Senator Eastland intends to summon CBS-TV to find out how and why they conspired secretly to infiltrate K. and his "conversational and amiable" (N. Y. **Times**) subversion into God-fearing American homes on a sunny June Sunday in 1957. We feel certain the Senator and his Subcommittee will agree that there ought to be a new law against it.

—THE GUARDIAN

THE MAIL BAG

The foreign born

CHICAGO, ILL.

It is just a little over a year ago that the GUARDIAN gave prominent display to my letter regarding the Witkovich-Keller criminal indictments in Chicago. By so doing, the GUARDIAN voiced the summons, country-wide, for the battle against Supervisory Parole. This battle found its successful expression in the recent Supreme Court decision on the Witkovich case. As a result of this decision the case against me has been dismissed.

The Witkovich case provided the basis for another significant Supreme Court decision on the Sentner case. This decision practically wipes out the odious and tyrannical provisions of Supervisory Parole embodied in the Walter-McCarran Law.

As a constant reader of the GUARDIAN I can say that no other publication can match you in defending the foreign-born and illuminating the significance of such defense for all Americans. Your crusade in behalf of the foreign-born is no routine, cut-and-dried affair. While properly appraising the vital importance of this issue, you have also shown that you understand it with your heart as well as your mind. It is this fact which lends to your writings the warmth and life that evokes widespread response from your readers.

If I am not in jail today I feel much of the credit is rightfully due to the NATIONAL GUARDIAN.

James A. Keller

Havelock Ellis' "Formosa"

CHICAGO, ILL.

The dismal horror that is Formosa, isolated from the New China, suddenly calls to mind a dim, storied locale, in which many other progressives would also find a warm fascination. Is there one GUARDIAN subscriber in 500 to whom the words, "the Lancashire Enclosure" mean anything?

At the turn of the century a little book was put out by the great English humanist and sexologist Havelock Ellis, entitled, **The Nineteenth Century: An Utopian Retrospect.** (Also published with the subtitle "A Dialogue in Utopia.") It is one of those prophetically realistic fantasies in the tradition of Bellamy's **Looking Backward** and Butler's **Erewhon**, but more socially profound than the latter.

In the future which is the present of this fantasy, everything predatory has been eliminated long since from the path of progress. But as a dreadful living museum, one whole area with its population—"the Lancashire Enclosure"—had been walled in to perpetuate without change the social system of that past which is our present.

Of course it is highly undialectical. But while it lasts, that is Formosa! Though arising out of a very different design.

B.F.

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

NASHVILLE. — Pupils attending Christ the King parochial school here will switch to uniforms because, among other reasons, wearing blue jeans "has a communistic tendency."

The Rt. Rev. Msgr. Thomas P. Duffy, pastor of Christ the King Church, informed parents by letter that "dressing of our children in the costume of manual laborers has a communistic tendency and influence."

Johnson City **Press-Chronicle, 5/22**

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: Anonymous.

A tip for Billy G.

PORTLAND, ORE.

We have been reading in the commercial press various enthusiastic accounts of Billy Graham's "highly successful" revival meetings currently being held in Madison Square Garden, which we understand is located in that den of iniquity, New York City.

We rise to inquire why some intelligent and devout New Yorker has not suggested to Billy that he arm himself with a stout whip and go down to the Stock Market in Wall Street and proceed to drive out the stock gamblers, as Christ reportedly drove money-changers out of the Temple in Jerusalem.

Clara M. Nielsen

SCAPPOOSE, ORE.

Maxine, my newest sweetheart, demands to know why Billy Graham isn't using his powerful influence with God to persuade Him to switch His support from World Communism to the Free World. She believes that this simple stunt would enable our Congress to cut Ike's war budget by 50%, at least.

Vincent Noga

The inexorable changes

ORLANDO, FLA.

James Aronson's eloquent account of the presentation to the Schomburg Collection in Harlem of Zorach's bust of Dr. Du Bois, brings up old memories. For some years before, during and after the First World War, I attended pretty regularly a dinner-discussion group in New York at which I met frequently Dr. Du Bois and other Negroes. That was a good 40 years ago; but Dr. Du Bois was then, as he is now, a cultured gentleman whom it was a pleasure to meet.

But that, of course, is an old story. Something else struck me on reading the few words Aronson quoted from the speech of Van Wyck Brooks, that Dr. Du Bois was one of the first to see "that the darker peoples of the world would overthrow the world unless they got their share of democracy." In this connection I recall another Negro who used to attend the dinners, Hubert H. Harrison. He was then employed by the New York school authorities to lecture at various high schools on history. He was not only learned, he had wit and humor.

Brooks' remark reminded me of what Harrison once said at one of the dinners. The time was in the midst of the First World War. Many African and East Indian soldiers were taking their part in winning the war, and Harrison's remark was to the effect that at last the colored people of the world were armed, and they had the numbers. He predicted that it would not be too long before they would rule the world. His words startled us all. If we had gone into it deeper, I am sure he would have added, "unless they got their share of democracy." But, artist that he was, he did not spoil the effect by any modification. The moment was one of new and intense insight for all of us. Unfortunately, Harrison did not live long enough to witness the inexorable historic changes which are daily confirming the truth of his words.

Bertha W. Howe

Work it out

PORTERSVILLE, PA.

My idea (whether it's worth anything or not I'll have it out of my system) is that a large body of men from colleges, labor, business, newspapers, etc., be named by the President and then invite the Russians to do the same and have them work with each other to arrive at a decision one way or the other. Whether we want to go on living together here or decide to burn it off and let Dr. Edward Feller create a new world population that wouldn't have no poor trash in it.

Bert G. Saunders

Vicky in London Daily Mirror

". . . and when did you first become convinced that you are a superior being?"

Needed: Backbone

BURBANK, CALIF.

Any American citizen is disturbed at the run-around given the Negro correspondents at the President's press conference whereof your paper gives a sympathetic account.

But I could not help wondering why one of the other correspondents did not deal with the situation as I remember my husband did, years back at a New York political conference. Here a man repeatedly rose to get the floor and the chairman recognized someone behind him, at the left, at the right, and in front, but remained quite blind to the man's effort to get attention. John rose, was recognized by the Chair and then demanded why the Chair had refused to recognize the man who had been trying all the evening to get the floor. The Chairman was definitely embarrassed in trying to explain how accidental was his oversight and the heretofore luckless speaker did have his chance.

It strikes me a similar experience would have been of benefit to Mr. Eisenhower, but the venturesome correspondent might have paid!

Frances Duncan Manning

Rock-clearing action

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Enclosed is check for $100 for the GUARDIAN. The sudden realization that it was possible for the GUARDIAN to go on the rocks in the summer doldrums unless helped was so shocking that I felt: This MUST not be. Not only must it be kept off rocks, but given a swift and adequate surplus so that the people working on it will not feel the worry and pinch.

It is a long time since I contributed $100 to anything; it is more or less two weeks income for me. I invite others to dig really deep . . . and hand out a week's income if they can. Transfer the pinch from the GUARDIAN to yourselves for this month.

Anna Louise Strong

Socialists of distinction

MODESTO, CALIF.

I can hardly wait (though I've waited for some time) for Norman Thomas to get the broad sweeping movement he's headed for so long in shape to seize power and establish the brand of socialism he favors. He's quite right to be a bit exclusive—after all, one can't associate with just the ragtag and bobtail. Also the Russian revolution was accomplished with the aid of all sorts of rude people. We can be sure that when Thomas heads a revolution here it will be gentlemanly, distinguished-looking and white-haired.

Name Withheld

MORE MAILBAG ON P. 11

HAITI SEEKS WAY OUT OF CRISIS

Batista forced to concede widespread revolt in Cuba

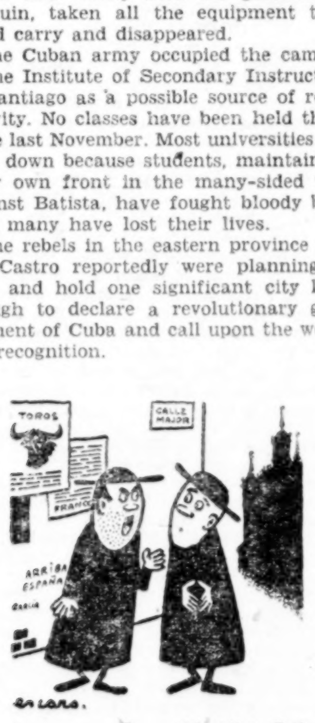
HAVANA WAS BLACKED OUT for two nights last week after bombs crippled the city's electric and gas systems. The city's night life, which attracts tourists by the planeload from Miami, was stilled. Swank department stores, left stifling in the tropical summer without their air conditioning, shut down. Powerful beams from the Cabana fortress off-shore played over the city's silent streets while police hunted for rebels.

Other bombs rocked Santiago. In Oriente province and in central Cuba, new landings were reported from yachts that sailed from Miami. Dictator Fulgencio Batista's office belittled the landings but authoritative sources said that from 100-150 men were involved. Reinforcements were rushed eastward as Cuban soldiers clashed with the forces of ex-student leader Fidel Castro in the Sierra Maestra. The government said 11 soldiers were killed and 19 wounded in the battle.

U.S. BASE RAIDED: A rebel "raid" on the U.S. naval base at Guantanamo got away with 24 pistols, seven mortars and a number of machine guns without leaving a trace for U.S. investigators to follow. Some reports said the rebels had seized and briefly held the garrison at Holguin, taken all the equipment they could carry and disappeared.

The Cuban army occupied the campus of the Institute of Secondary Instruction in Santiago as a possible source of rebel activity. No classes have been held there since last November. Most universities are shut down because students, maintaining their own front in the many-sided war against Batista, have fought bloody battles; many have lost their lives.

The rebels in the eastern province under Castro reportedly were planning to take and hold one significant city long enough to declare a revolutionary government of Cuba and call upon the world for recognition.



Liberation, Paris

"I have a sort of impression that we are edging little by little toward dictatorship."

"DECLARATION OF WAR": Whatever else the rebels accomplished they succeeded in breaking through the icy communiques from the Presidential Palace in Havana which up until last week insisted that Fidel Castro was not in the Sierra Maestra, that journalists who were photographed with him had faked the pictures, that there was no rebellion. Last week Army chief of staff Maj. Gen. Francisco Tabernilla emerged from a Presidential conference with what reporters called a "declaration of war" against the rebels, hitherto described as non-existent.

The full picture of the Cuban chaos was still kept from most Cubans. Communication Minister Ramon Vasconcelos barred all radio and television stations from broadcasting any news concerning strikes or rebellion.

Bodies of resistance leaders continued to turn up in the streets at dawn. Flash strikes for wage boosts or to oust Batista's hand-picked lieutenants from the leadership have spread throughout the country. Many of those lieutenants have been hanged in effigy. Members of Socialist youth organizations, in colleges, high school and grammar school, spread the word in comic-book form. They call for every kind of demonstration short of violence.

THERE ARE DIFFERENCES: In the turmoil there are clear differences among the anti-Batista forces. The outlawed Partido Socialista Popular calls for strikes, demonstrations and unity; it draws the line at armed rebelion or bomb-throwing, but it does not assail the forces of Fidel Castro.

The sugar workers and others in the labor movement seem anxious to throw off the Batista-imposed leaders and to assert their own demands, but have not merged them with Fidel Castro's program, which seems to go no further than the ouster of Batista and organization of free elections. Old-line Cuban politicians and Batista's rival for Caribbean power, Generalissimo Rafael Trujillo, also fish in the turbulent Caribbean waters.

At stake is an island rich, although despoiled, a land of 6,000,000 people with a centuries-old tradition of fighting and martyring themselves for freedom.

Haiti: Wild scramble

THE MESS IN HAITI was as involved but less bloody. Analysts said the crisis began last December when Dictator-President Paul Magloire was forced out of the country by a completely effective labor and business strike. Actually it began long before that, when the U.S. Marines held the Republic for 20 years, 1915-1935, and left a legacy of corruption, poverty, landlessness, disease and illiteracy. What brought on the "crisis" after Magloire's ouster was the desperate determination of many Haitians to tear up that legacy and the equally desperate efforts by politicians to channel the popular mood into some path that can lead right back to where they were.

A LEADER OF THE REVOLT IS TAKEN IN NIQUERO, CUBA

With his mother holding his arm and his sister walking at his side, Manuel Echavvaria is guarded by a government soldier. This was last December. At the time Batista reported that the revolt had been crushed.

Everything that happens in Haiti tends to take on the language and some of the ardor of the French revolution, in the spirit of which the first Negro republic was born. "Committees of Public Safety" and "Tribunals" blossomed in the crisis, although these often camouflaged politicians' duels. Politics in Haiti is intensely personal, with politicians rallying classes and factions to themselves rather than to fixed parties.

THE OPPOSING MEN: Sen. Louis Dejoie appealed to rich planters throughout the country, the Mulatto "aristos" who have always lorded it over the Negro majority. Dejoie is generally credited with being able to turn shopkeepers' strikes on and off at will in Port-au-Prince.

Dr. Francois Duvalier seems strongest among the Negro farm workers.

Prof. Pierre Eustache Daniel Fignole is favored by the Negro workers in Port-au-Prince's small industries. He is the nearest to a full-fledged statesman that Haiti's crisis has produced. A Negro, he comes of a poor farm family and worked his way through school to become a mathematics teacher, was jailed twice for opposing Haiti's past sem-dictatorships, edited two newspapers, both of which were suppressed. He has been critical of the U.S. and has indicated some sympathy with socialism. A powerful speaker, he can rally his supporters out of the slums of Port-au-Prince as fast as Sen. Dejoie can ring down the shutters of the shopkeepers.

TEMPORARY SOLUTION: For a while, in the tangle of the last six months, Dejoie and Duvalier joined forces. Then, when the Executive Council was set up by the 11 Presidential candidates—to govern until elections could be held—Dejoie and Fignole seemed allied in supporting its right to govern while Duvalier opposed it. (The council's delegates were men sworn to Dejoie or Fignole.) Mingled in the crisis were Brig. Gen. Leon Cantave and police chief Col. Pierre Arman who at one point were threatening to hurl each others' forces into the fight on opposite sides in a civil war. Both men throughout have seemed disinclined to take the strong-man role their military strength makes possible.

Last week Col. Armand, Gen. Cantave, Duvalier and Clement Jumelle, a candidate tarred by a scandal of the Magloire regime, joined forces to install Fignole as provisional president. Port-au-Prince whooped it up with crowds of 10,000 before the Palace, shooting guns into the air and cheering Fignole. Everyone seemed hopeful or resigned to Fignole except Dejoie. He told his people to be calm and await the next move.

NOD TO WASHINGTON? Fignole pledged prompt, free, democratic elections (they have been postponed twice) and announced that he would continue as a candidate while serving as provisional president. Dejoie quickly denounced such a move as unconstitutional. Fignole struck a curious note in his inaugural, alluding to a long-standing fear of Haitians that the U.S. Marines would come back and indicating that his government would not antagonize Washington. He said: "This republic of Haiti under my administration will have a true democratic government. There will be no dictatorship. The United States doesn't like dictatorships and neither do I."

Colombo: No peace delegate from U. S.?

By W. E. B. Du Bois

COLOMBO is in Ceylon; Ceylon is south of India; India is in Asia. At Colombo, June 10 to 16, 1957, delegates from 75 nations of Asia, Europe, Africa and America are expected to meet to discuss Peace on Earth and stopping the preparation for war and threat to health typified by tests of the hydrogen bomb.

The chief civilized nations of the world will send many of their most distinguished citizens. The number of delegates already selected is approximately as follows:

Great Britain	15	Brazil	6
France	15	Mexico	6
Soviet Union	15	Canada	5
Italy	15	Tunisia	3
India	30	Egypt	10
Indonesia	15	Madagascar	2
China	15	Sudan	4
Japan	20	Australia	15
Burma	10	New Zealand	5
Argentina	6		

Also one or more representatives from Hungary, East and West Germany, Finland, Ghana and Israel. There will be no delegates, apparently, from Syria, Jordan, Iran, Iraq, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia and none from the United States of America, unless, surreptitiously, some United States traveler slips in under cover and reports home in great secrecy!

In this first Asian session of the World Council of Peace, formed in Paris in 1949 and author of the great Stockholm Appeal of 1950; in this greatest peace movement of the Twentieth Century, one may clearly see and count the forces which today stand for peace. The one nation of the great powers of the world which refuses to discuss peace or even sit down with nations who pray for peace is the United States. None of our great movements for peace with millions of endowment will lend a hand or even send a greeting; not the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, with $17 million endowment, of which Alger Hiss was president until crucified by Richard Nixon; not the World Peace Foundation of Boston, nor any of the half dozen other American foundations whose charters could easily include activities for world peace if their trustees were interested. The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom will take no part. Protestant Christianity will center its attention on Billy Graham and not on Colombo. Is it not time for Americans to realize and acknowledge that this nation leads the world toward war and race suicide today?

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'YOUR GRANDCHILDREN WILL LIVE UNDER SOCIALISM'

Khrushchev bids U. S.: Let us compete in peace

Following are excerpts of the transcript of an interview with Nikita S. Khrushchev, First Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, televised June 2 on the CBS network. Participating were Daniel Shorr, CBS News correspondent in Moscow; B. J. Cutler, Moscow correspondent of the N. Y. Herald Tribune, *and Stuart Novins, moderator of the CBS program "Face the Nation." Khrushchev declared first that the U.S.S.R. would catch up with the U.S. next year in the per capita production of milk and butter, by 1961 in meat. He then took up international issues.*

MR. NOVINS—Mr. Khrushchev, you have spoken about what you call the healthy attitude of competition among the peoples of both our countries. I would like to ask you, sir, going to another field now, in terms of the international relations between the U.S.S.R. and the United States, particularly as they refer to conditions in Western Europe and in other parts of the world, what do you consider at this time to be the most pressing points that must be solved between the two countries?

MR. KRUSHCHEV—I believe that the main thing is to normalize relations between our countries, between all countries of the world, and first and foremost between the United States and the Soviet Union. This normalization, as I see it, should take place as follows: all restrictions on trade should be removed. We should begin with that. We should remove these restrictions, and you must do away with your Iron Curtain and not be afraid of Soviet cooks arriving in the United States—I don't think they will make any revolution in your country.

Then there should be exchanges of cultural delegations. There must be more contacts between our peoples, between business men. That is the main thing, I should say. But at this time, you are practicing discrimination. You are not trading with us. Some of your political leaders believe that in so doing they are doing damage to communism, but you must realize that that does little damage to us. On the contrary, it compels us to make an extra effort and produce things at home which would otherwise have been brought from your country, and it will be the same in the future if things go on as they are.

But these things create a tense atmosphere, create a lot of nervousness in the world, and make it possible to unbalance people, to speculate on war, to make warlike threats. That is dangerous, because the people of the world want peace and want a normal life. We, for our part, are trying to do all we can to bring about a normal state of things and to bring about peaceful coexistence between countries with different systems; that is to say, between capitalist countries and Socialist countries.

MR. NOVINS—Mr. Khrushchev, can we assume from what you have just said then that you are prepared to allow Western diplomats more freedom of travel in your country? Can we assume that you will stop jamming broadcasts of Voice of America?

MR. KHRUSHCHEV—I think that, as far as restrictions on travel of diplomatic personnel is concerned, I think that if there were a mutual agreement, we would be prepared to improve matters and to do away with these restrictions. These restrictions are elements which have been brought about as a result of the deterioration of relations between our two countries.

MR. NOVINS—Would you say that they were part of your Iron Curtain, Mr. Khrushchev?

MR. KHRUSHCHEV—We reply to your Iron Curtain in kind, and sometimes we put up a sort of "wooden curtain." Then you asked me about the Voice of America. Our country is a very musical country, and, you know, we have many good singers, both in the past in Russia, and now, too. Therefore, if it's a good voice, we do not jam it. On the contrary, we want it to be heard all over the country. But if it's a voice which cuts on the ear, then every person switches off one's radio, or jams that radio because that voice gets on one's nerves.

Therefore, if the Voice of America does become the voice of America—because we respect the American people— it will not be jammed in our country, but when it is not the voice of America but a sort of wailing over the radio, supposedly the voice of America, in that case we want to avoid our people getting the wrong view of the American people.

MR. NOVINS—Is there a contradiction, Mr. Khrushchev, when you talk about competition economically and yet you seem not to want to allow competition of ideas; you make the decision instead of allowing the people to decide what they will hear?

MR. KHRUSHCHEV—You see, to divide us from the people, that is an old tune. We believe that there has and will never be another government in this country than the Soviet Government, and no other party than the Communist party, which reflects the desires and the wishes of the people so much.

We do want to compete with you, and in that competition we want to have the most healthy forces come into the forefront, and we believe that our Socialist system represents the most healthy elements, because it is a younger system, the most healthy system, and, if you are acquainted with history and know how one social system was changed and another system took its place, you will know that the old capitalist system in our country has been replaced by the Socialist system, and I can prophesy that your grandchildren in America will live under socialism.

Now, as far as competition between capitalist and Socialist ideologies is concerned, we have never made a secret of the fact that there will be an ideological struggle going on between these two ideologies, but we never believe that that is the same thing as a war, because this would be an ideological struggle in which the system which will have the support of the people, that system will come out on top.

Let us live in peace. Let us devolop our economy. Let us compete. Let us trade with each other. Let us exchange experience in agriculture, in industry, in the field of culture, and as far as the question of which system will come out on top, let history, let our peoples decide that. I think that is a good way out.

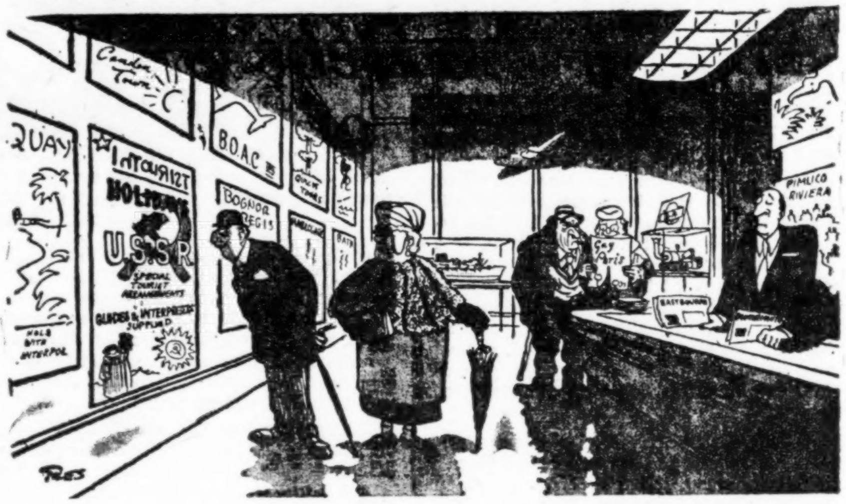
We believe that our Socialist system will be victorious, but that does not mean under any conditions that we want to impose that system on anyone. We simply believe that the people of each country themselves will come to realize that that system is best for them. We have no intention of imposing our ideas on anybody.

MR. SCHORR—Mr. Khrushchev, to come back to your remark about not being divided, the government and the people, it reminds me of a recent statement from Peking, which I believe was also published in Pravda, that in a Socialist state there can exist contradictions between the masses and the leaders. I wonder if in republishing that in Pravda, whether the Soviet Communists accept this idea, and what are the implications of it for the Soviet Union?

MR. KHRUSHCHEV—Each Socialist or capitalist country has its own course of development and its own stages of development, and therefore Socialist countries, we, for instance, our country, has been in existence forty years; the Chinese People's Republic has been in existence eight years. Therefore, a stage through which we passed does not necessarily have to be repeated in other Socialist countries. Then each people have their own habits, customs, its own history, and the Communist party of the country concerned should take that into account, of course, and our Chinese friends have many original ideas, which they are implementing in the course of Socialist construction in their country. They are giving birth to new ideas, too, which take into consideration the specific conditions in China.

We look upon that as perfectly normal, and we lend our support to many of these things. We publish these ideas in our press, but each one has to base one's self on the conditions existing in one's own country. There is no contradiction with any Marxist-Leninist ideas in this respect.

MR. SCHORR—But are you saying these contradictions do not exist in the Soviet Union today?



Giles in London Daily Expreess

"Certainly not, Edward. We might like it."

MR. KHRUSHCHEV—We believe that we have no contradictions of that nature.

MR. CUTLER—Mr. Khrushchev, you have recently said that the United States is definitely planning war against the Soviet Union. Is this really the belief that underlies the policies of the Soviet Union?

MR. KHRUSHCHEV—That is not my view. I simply repeated what your political leaders have been saying and your generals, especially your admirals. God knows how many speeches are being made in your country saying in how many hours the Soviet Union can be destroyed by the power of the United States. We don't indulge in any such things. That would be stupid on our part.

MR. CUTLER—I recall that Marshal Zhukov [Marshal Georgi K. Zhukov, Soviet Defense Minister] has said things like that.

MR. KHRUSHCHEV—I don't think Zhukov said anything of the sort. What we said was this, that if the means of warfare now enable one country to destroy another, then that second country can probably destroy the first one, too, and in that respect we are sure of ourselves; and if any man, which I would call a madman, should unleash war, we would have to take our steps. It would be a great calamity for mankind.

I have been reproached with changing my mind in that once I said that in a new war capitalism would be destroyed. I can repeat that, but it would be terrible war, and therefore what we want is to avoid a military conflict; but we want to compete with capitalism by peaceful means economically and otherwise.

MR. CUTLER—Mr. Khrushchev, you just said that a future war would destroy capitalism. Is it your theory that a future war would not destroy communism also?

MR. KHRUSHCHEV—No, it would not. It would bring tremendous calamities to the whole of mankind, tremendous losses in lives and material values, but still mankind would not be destroyed, and since mankind would continue to live, that means that the ideas would continue to live, and the immortal idea of mankind is that of communism. But that is a very high price, and it would be a tremendous calamity both for capitalist and Socialist countries, and, therefore, we have to live on one planet.

MR. SCHORR—How can you speak of coexistence with a country if you really believe that this country is planning a war against the Soviet Union?

MR. KHRUSHCHEV—What can we do about it? We would prefer that you would not plan that war against us, but we believe that you are planning that war, but you must know that such a war would be a very awful thing, and, therefore, those plans might not be implemented. Therefore, if there is coexistence, if you should desire to live in peace with us, then we, as well as you, would be able to alleviate the burden of taxation, we would be able to switch our labor reserves from the production of things which do not go to the good of mankind. We want peace very much, and we want friendship with the American people.

MR. SCHORR—The United States has come back to the resumed disarmament talks in London with a proposal for what is called a small, measured step toward disarmament. We know that the Soviet Union has been more in favor of a total and immediate ban on hydrogen atom bomb tests and weapons, and the question of control has made it very difficult. Do you see any hope for an agreement on the basis of the current American approach, a first small step?

MR. KHRUSHCHEV—For the time being I know not of the step that the United States is prepared to take because Mr. Stassen has not yet put forth his proposals, but we are quite prepared to limit ourselves to some small step, instead of going after a comprehensive agreement at once, so that that small step might lead to something bigger. We have done a great deal, we believe, to achieve agreement on disarmament. But for the time being we have not seen a mutual step taken by either the United States, France, or Britain.

MR. SCHORR—The Soviet position in discussing atomic tests and bombs is that all atomic and hydrogen explosions can be detected. If that's the Soviet position, then why is it that the Soviet Government has not given notice or even announced afterward the last five tests conducted in this country?

MR. KHRUSHCHEV—What will that give to mankind? Nothing! What difference is there whether, as long as there is an explosion, the air has been poisoned and the people of the world will not gain by anything if such registrations are made beforehand. We prefer a more fundamental approach. Let us put an end to these tests, to these explosions.

There are people now who want to avoid the proposal to put an end to all explosions by switching it towards these proposals of registration and warnings. I think that is empty talk. Our proposal is to put an end to all these tests, to abolish hydrogen and atomic weapons, to limit armed forces, etc. Let us have the real steps in that field instead of empty polemics.

MR. NOVINS—There have been various proposals, as you know, sir, for providing certain conditions under which troops would be withdrawn, and these questions also deal with the reunification of Germany. I would like to ask you, what does the Soviet Government believe now to be the conditions under which it would feel sufficiently secure to withdraw from the countries in which they are now situated?

MR. KHRUSHCHEV—We feel ourselves sufficiently secure and are not afraid of anything. Why couldn't the United States and the other countries withdraw their troops from Western Germany? From the other countries of the West? From France, Italy—where else have you got troops?—Turkey, Greece, perhaps, while we would withdraw our troops from Eastern Germany, from Poland, from Hungary, from Rumania? We have no troops anywhere else.

I think that it would be very useful first step to test the good will of the two sides and to establish a good atmosphere.

Furthermore, when we speak about disarmament, there is confidence needed. We should not lok upon each other as robbers, but we should look upon each other as honest people. We are prepared to give you our word, and we are prepared to afford the means of control. We are agreed to have have control, inspection posts established to check up on the agreement, and we believe that those conditions exclude the possibility of any sudden attack of one side on the other. That is the realistic view I take of the matter.

MR. CUTLER—Mr. Khrushchev, do you have any fear that, if you withdraw your troops from certain states in Eastern Europe, those countries would all remain Communist?

MR. KHRUSHCHEV—It is a fable.

(Continued on Page 5)

DRAPER'S STUDY OF THE EARLY YEARS

'The Roots of American Communism'

IN HIS STUDY of the formative years of the Communist movement in the United States*, Theodore Draper concedes that at the beginning it may have drawn on native traditions, but that by 1923, four short years after its founding, "it was transformed from a new expression of American radicalism to the American appendage of a Russian revolutionary power."

It would almost seem that this sentence, which concludes the book, was written first and that Draper then began at the beginning to prove his thesis. What with the CPUSA's current reappraisal of its own position, it requires no vast research to learn that the American party has been inordinately dependent on the Russian experience instead of doing its own thinking in terms of American reality.

Draper uses loaded dice when there's no need for cheating. A fair example of his method occurs early in the book. He records that some 20 Left Wing Socialists were called to a meeting at the home of Ludwig Lore in Brooklyn on Jan. 14, 1917, for the purpose, as Lore wrote later, "of organizing the radical forces in the American Socialist movement." Among those invited was Nikolai Bukharin, who came to this country as an exile late in 1916. A day before the meeting another Russian exile arrived in New York unexpectedly: Leon Trotsky disembarked from Barcelona and was hastily invited to the meeting.

In little more than 24 hours on these shores, Trotsky, according to Draper, was shaping the destiny of the American Left. At the Lore meeting Bukharin and Trotsky took divergent views and on a show of hands Trotsky won. Draper assures his readers solemnly: "For a brief moment, they held the fate of the American Left Wing in their hands." Both men went home to Russia within three months after that meeting, and it is doubtful if either of them ever again remembered the fateful part they played in U.S. history ascribed to them by Draper.

The above cartoon was drawn by the late Robert Minor, one of the leading figures in the formative years of the Communist Party who is discussed at some length in the Draper book. The drawing was made during the period under review and appeared in The Liberator, **April, 1922. The caption read: "Ghost of the dead Hun—'Well, buddy, they fixed us right, didn't they? You're out of a job and I don't need one'."**

TO DRAPER, himself an ex-Communist, it was not only the Russians who were alien to America, but socialism itself: "At bottom, socialism was 'foreign' to American life because of a shortcoming inherent in itself. The socialist analysis and appeal had been conceived for a much more rigid and retrogressive society. If all the socialist predictions of American capitalist decay and doom had stood the test of experience, the Socialist movement would have Americanized itself, with or without the immigrants. Socialism gained a precarious foothold in American life because it partially fulfilled a need. It did not go further because the need was not greater."

For some Congressional committees, there might be a bit of a contradiction here because the Draper book, which argues that socialism as such is un-American, is sponsored by the Fund for the Republic, itself denounced as un-American by Congressional investigators. Francis Walter and James Eastland can work that out for themselves, but the fact that Draper had Fund for the Republic resources at his disposal undoubtedly enabled him to do a greater job of research than he could have managed on a publisher's advance.

The research, in fact, is prodigious. There is such a wealth of forgotten or concealed material that the book will be indispensable to the historian who someday will put it all in proper perspective. Draper points out that communists cannot write their own history (at best, they haven't yet done so, even in the Soviet Union). But Draper, with his disenchantment with socialism in general and with communism in particular, hasn't written it for them. Although the book has been accepted by most reviewers as an objective work, Draper seems concerned most with those items of information calculated to cause the severest embarrassment to the currently embattled communists. He seems to take most delight in elevating old villains to the rank of hero, and downgrading old heroes to the rank of villain. Wherever he can, he emphasizes or exaggerates whatever may, in the light of present knowledge, be presented as ludicrous.

This, of course, does not take a great deal of doing, and it seems reasonable to suppose that a serious scholar would consider such an approach unworthy.

THE AMERICAN CP has had a most unusual development. From its inception it has been bedeviled by splits and schisms and splits within splits, and at one point in its early development there existed four separate entities—with one of the four divided in two. It came into being by a split with the old Socialist Party, and it was born split—two Communist parties were formed in the same month in Chicago in 1919. It took until 1923 (when Draper's book ends) before a semblance of a united party could be formed. But there were to be further splits and convulsions long after that; the present-day upheavals in the CP are simply the persistence of an old ailment.

While to many it seems difficult, if not impossible, to find historical **justification** for such a development of an organization which claims not only mastery of a scientific understanding of history and society, but also boasts of its monolithic unity, there are historical **reasons** why such a development took place in the United States.

But Draper would rather exploit than explain. He leads the tour through the maze of truly dizzying zigs and zags that has marked the course of the communist movement in this country, and wherever he can turn up an old leaflet calling upon the workers and peasants of Brownsville to overthrow their oppressors, he pauses for a laugh.

Most wrong with the book is its almost total separation of the history of the world from the history of the beginnings of the world communist movement. The fact of World War I and its shattering of the Second International, the repercussions of that fact upon the socialist movement in the United States, the fact of the staggering post-war persecution of radicals in this country, the success of the Russian revolution and the rise of the Third International, all seem unrelated in the Draper book. That certain things happened at the same time is merely coincidental or even irrelevant. American communists are presented as wholly separate from their own time and consequently seem quite irrational or even downright aberrant.

HUMAN MOTIVES of early American communists are no concern of Draper. He reports what certain people did or said or wrote at a given time; why they behaved as they did is of no consequence to him. This is a sort of test-tube history, or worm's eye view of a social upheaval that didn't just shake the world for only ten days but is still shaking it 40 years later. The American participants, in Draper's recital, were bloodless beings who never held a hope for a better world. All of them, in his view, the good guys and the bad guys (you can't always know which were which in this book), were intriguers, incurable factionalists, international adventurers, political climbers and connivers forever engaged in a nasty internal struggle for personal power.

In some circles this is accepted as pure scholarship. But in a negative way the book may do a service if it causes some who still believe in peace, bread and freedom to take a closer look at their own past. The dry skeleton that Draper rattles contains many a bone of unpleasant truth that ought to be filled out properly with the warm flesh of human error. Time's a-wasting, because Draper is well along on a sequel to this bloodless narrative, due for publication next year, which will bring the story up to 1945.

In any case, the future is always wide open.

—**Lawrence Emery**

*_THE ROOTS OF AMERICAN COMMUNISM, by Theodore Draper. The Viking Press, Inc., 1957, 625 Madison Av., N.Y. 22. 395 pp. plus notes and index. $6.75._

Khrushchev on TV

(Continued from Page 4)

You are probably contaminated with this talk, too. You seem to think that the Communist system in some country can be held up by our armed forces. But I wouldn't defend a Communist system of that kind. The Communist system must be based on the will of the people, and if the people should not want that system, then that people should establish a different system. And for that reason we have no fear of withdrawing our troops from any country of Eastern Europe or from Eastern Germany, and we are certain that the people themselves will defend their system even better without that.

MR. SCHORR—Mr. Khrushchev, you are convinced in your own mind that in every country with a Communist regime today, that regime rests on the will of the people?

MR. KHRUSHCHEV—Absolutely! Absolutely! How can it be otherwise? Look how Chiang Kai-shek is holding the people of Taiwan in his hands, and look what the people of Taiwan have done when they don't like that regime. The Americans have given Chiang Kai-shek $6,000,000,000 to hold Chiang Kai-shek on the continent, and all those American arms have been transferred by Chiang Kai-shek from the Americans over to Mao Tse-tung. Who did all that? That has all been done by the people of China because the Chiang Kai-shek regime did not correspond to the will of the Chinese people.

Or look at the regime that existed in Czarist Russia. The revolutionaries were executed, but the people rose up and established a new system.

MR. SCHORR—Since you have raised America's troubles in Formosa, and this a frank discussion, I only wanted to ask you how long do you think the Kadar regime would exist without Soviet troops and tanks in Hungary?

MR. KHRUSHCHEV—Let's have a test! Why don't you withdraw your troops from Germany and France, and we will withdraw ours from Germany, Poland and Hungary, and you will see that the Kadar regime, which is the people's regime in Hungary, will flourish for ages to come. Where the working class has won power, it will not yield that power to the exploiters but will rather develop their economy and their culture. That is what the Kadar regime is. It is not the Kadar regime really, because Kadar is a servant of the Hungarian people.

MR. NOVINS—What great step do you think now the Soviet Government is prepared to take in order to ease some of these tensions that you have been speaking about in order to approach a better understanding among the countries of the world?

MR. KHRUSHCHEV—Our most radical steps have been proposed. We have made proposals on disarmament. We suggest that the restriction on trade be discarded. We suggest that the United States lower the Iron Curtain and start a widespread cultural exchange. I find it difficult to add anything else to that now. If the United States were to reciprocate in kind, we would have great progress.

MR. NOVINS—Does the history of the last years since World War II indicate at all where the Soviet Union may have been at fault or may have made mistakes in international relations which have led to some of these tensions?

MR. KHRUSHCHEV—I don't know what mistakes you have in mind. I am prepared to admit that both sides might have had a more reasonable approach, and there might not have been that deterioration in relations, but still I think that the deterioration that has taken place presented a desire on the part of the capitalist countries to test us, because when your political leaders say that they are prepared to deal with us only after the liberation of the so-called enslaved peoples, meaning the Socialist countries in Europe, well, I don't want to argue about what you think slavery is, but I want to say that we look upon the capitalist society as slavery, and we think that the peoples living under a capitalist system are living under capitalist slavery. If we start arguing on this basis, results will hardly be good.

AMERICAN TEL & TEL BREAKS THE CURTAIN TO LONDON

Robeson's phone concert a smash success

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

DIDN'T JERICHO'S WALLS tumble when Joshua fit the battle, and didn't my Lord deliver Daniel? The assault on the cold-war walls around America took a new turn here on May 26 and many wondered what techniques the defenders would devise to meet it. In any case, as the **Manchester Guardian** reported, "American Telephone & Telegraph and the General Post Office in London last night between them helped Paul Robeson to make the U.S. Dept. of State look rather silly."

The audience of nearly 1,000 who assisted at this pleasant ceremony were certainly never so conscious of being in the presence of the sublime and the ridiculous at the same time. Here was a great artist, a captive of his own country whose most widely-beloved son he is, finding a way through the wall via the transatlantic telephone cable. The transmission was flawless, the artist—as Londoners denied him for seven years found to their joy—at the very height of his powers. Not in the memory of the oldest Robeson fan present had the Water Boy

PAUL ROBESON
Who cared what it cost!

been sought, the Name scandalized, the Curly-Headed Baby sung to sleep or Daniel delivered so magnificently and so movingly.

WELCOME IN THE VALLEY: When the wall holding him physically captive tumbled, as Robeson told the audience 3,000 miles away quoting Pablo Neruda, he would come back "to pound on the table with love, to sing for you and for you to sing with me." A hurricane of applause and greeting shouts shook the hall and swept back over the two-way line to the singer. The miners' choir who had come from Wales to honor him, and faced an all-night ride back for the morning shift, sang to him with lusty pride and affection: "There'll be a welcome in the valleys when you come home again to Wales."

Paul's deep chuckle came over the wire, and when the audience gave three mighty British cheers for him, they heard the catch in his voice as he thanked them. They would not let him go; he must sing "Ol' Man River"—who cared if it cost $6 a minute? "We want it, we'll pay for it!" they yelled, and pay they did, emptying pockets of the little that was in them. And so he promised to keep fighting until he was dying, and said goodnight: "I'll be in Wales, in Glasgow, on the waterfronts and everywhere singing."

THE SECRETARY'S CLOTHES: He meant that he was sure the growing protests against the imprisonment of artists would succeed; but even before this happens the miracle of the transoceanic telephone has freed him and other captives from the silence to which they have been condemned. That miracle has opened up fresh possibilities for breaking the chains upon brotherhood through art, and, heaven be praised, for exposing the State Dept. in all its silly nudity before the world. Already there are groups in Scotland and Wales and in countries of the European continent forming plans for similar telephone concerts.

There are other possibilities. Perhaps now the newly-independent Ghanaians can hear from 89-year-old Pan-African pioneer Dr. Du Bois, whose physical presence in Africa is deemed so perilous. And what about the hundreds of American patriots whom the deportation mania has scattered all over Europe? Why should not they be heard again in America? The Walter-McCarran Act bars their bodies from returning, but what law says their voices without the bodies may not come home? Will Washington dare add to all the other strangled freedoms the freedom to pick up the receiver and make a call?

BURIAL CEREMONY: Here is a new and dramatic weapon for doing what Dr. Barnett Stross MP, chairman of the Labour Party's Arts & Amenities Group, urged upon the Robeson conference before the concert: "McCarthy is dead; it is time to bury McCarthyism so deeply there will be no memory of it." The warm and impregnable memories of Paul expressed to the 120 conference delegates were, as the London Co-Operative Political Committee's Ted Bedford summed up, an extraordinary testimony to his greatness as a man. They came from a West Indian doctor who "had the pleasure of vaccinating Paul" when he was last here; a Co-Op official who once delivered milk to Paul's flat in London; a musician and a movie studio technician who had worked with him professionally; Welsh union leaders who recalled "how warm he made us feel" when he sang to the miners in cold, hungry depression days, and how the children clustered around him as he welcomed International Brigaders home from Spain; and actress Marie Burke who appeared with him in **Show Boat** and said he "left nothing but love behind him."

AFFECTION FOR AMERICA: All day, in conference and concert intervals, the hall throbbed with Robeson records from the Hassidic Chant to Ballad for Americans. Delegates spoke of Robeson the man and Robeson the symbol of the world-wide fight against encroachments upon freedom. Queen's Counsel Gerald Gardiner, recently back from observing the South African "treason trials" for the British bar, set Robeson's case in the context of similar encroachments elsewhere including Britain. One and all, they spoke affectionately about America, conscious of their own shortcomings, confident that a new age of brotherhood would dawn when the people could speak directly to each other instead of through misrepresentatives.

Emrys Hughes MP told of a woman's remark to him in the plane flying down from Scotland: "My husband is an officer in the American army of occupation here." (She had added, seeing his expression: "Have I said anything wrong? and Hughes had said: "It doesn't matter, dear lady—we once had one in your country, after all.") St. Pancras Councillor Tom Barker, an old Wobbly in Australia who remembered Joe Hill's ashes being received there in a parcel from Utah, called the Formosa outbreak the latest warning that uniformed "ambassadors" were out of date; artists, however, were not. Another delegate asked why America didn't compete with Russia in sending great artists, chess players and ballet dancers as propagandists.

THE ACHILLES HEEL: The support for the "free Robeson" campaign from all circles here clearly shows that the State Dept. curtain on artists and scientists, coming in or going out, is the Achilles heel of the witch-hunt. Further evidence is the recent abashed N. Y. **Times** story on the curtaining of two artists whose 75th birthdays are about to be celebrated: Pablo Picasso's with a show in New York (for which he can't get in) and Rockwell Kent's with a show in Moscow (for which he can't get out). British artists, delighted to hear of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee's benefit show in New York to help pay for Kent's passport fight are contributing their work. This interchange of art works is another front on which the campaign against State Dept. asininity can be warmed up, and the cause of international friendship promoted despite and through "legal" curtains.

But the transatlantic telephone is the best weapon yet; and Londoners still thrilled by the Robeson concert are waiting to hear who will be first to use it in the other direction. Perhaps after the Cadillac Curtain has been telephonically penetrated before a few more thousands of people on both sides of it, we might even find the American press seeing a story in this history-making, dramatic, but essentially ludicrous procedure.

Gardening note

THE AIM of the U.S. in yesterday's announcement that short-range missiles will immediately be allocated to European NATO members is to nurture the delicate flower of European defense which has been so rudely withered by the British defense white paper.

Los Angeles **Times**, 4/14

A man changes places

LET ME CHANGE places with Arthur Miller. I have refused to name people. I am indicted, convicted, sent to prison. If the charge were murder or theft or extortion I would be subject to punishment, because I and all men know that these things are wrong. But if I am imprisoned for something I have been taught from birth is a good thing, then I go to jail with a deep sense of injustice and the rings of that injustice are bound to spread out like an infection. If I am brave enough to suffer for my principle, rather than to save myself by hurting other people I believe to be innocent, it seems to me that the law suffers more than I, and that contempt of the law and of the Congress is a real contempt rather than a legalistic one.

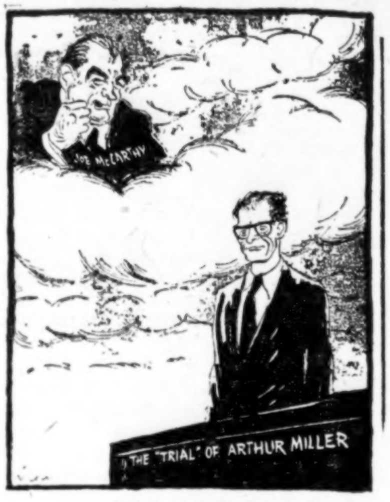
Under the law, Arthur Miller is guilty. But he seems also to be brave. Congress feels that it must press the charge against him, to keep its prerogative alive. But can we not hope that our representatives will inspect their dilemma? Respect for law can be kept high only if the law is respectable. There is a clear and present danger here, not to Arthur Miller, but to our changing and evolving way of life.

If I were in Arthur Miller's shoes, I do not know what I would do, but I could wish, for myself and for my children, that I would be brave enough to fortify and defend my private morality as he has. I feel profoundly that our country is better served by individual courage and morals than by the safe and public patriotism which Dr. Johnson called "the last refuge of scoundrels."

My father was a great man, as any lucky man's father must be. He taught me rules I do not think are abrogated by our nervous and hysterical times. These laws have not been annulled; these rules of attitudes. He taught me—glory to God, honor to my family, loyalty to my friends, respect for the law, love of country and instant and open revolt against tyranny, whether it come from the bully in the schoolyard, the foreign dictator, or the local demagogue.

And if this be treason, gentlemen, make the most of it.

John Steinbeck in **Esquire**, June, 1957.



Vicky in London Daily Mirror
"Who said I'm dead, eh?"

SENTENCING DEFERRED

Playwright Miller is found guilty in contempt case

PRIZE-WINNING playwright Arthur Miller was found guilty of contempt of Congress on May 31 because he refused on grounds of conscience to tell the House Committee on Un-American Activities the names of persons present at a meeting of communist writers he attended in 1947.

Federal Judge Charles F. McLaughlin deferred sentence and continued Miller's $1,000 bail. In announcing his verdict after a six-day trial, Judge McLaughlin declared that Miller's motive of conscience in refusing to answer two questions was "removed from this court's consideration."

Defense attorney Joseph L. Rauh Jr. had argued that the questions asked Miller were not pertinent to the committee's declared purpose of investigating fraudulent possession and misuse of passports. He also charged that the committee was mostly concerned in sharing the publicity attending Miller's courtship of Marilyn Monroe at the time of his appearance last June.

CAIN A WITNESS: The trial, held without a jury, heard one witness for the defense: ex-Senator Harry P. Cain, a member of the Subversive Activities Control Board from 1953 to 1956, testified that the committee was seeking "worthless" information in asking the two key questions. He said the answers could have shed "no light of any possible character" on the matter of whether Miller had been under CP discipline at the time—which Miller denied. Cain argued that such a question could be determined only by finding out "how an individual lives, acts, writes and speaks—rather than by his associates."

Judge McLaughlin, 70, is a former Nebraska lawyer who served in Congress from 1935 to 1943 and was appointed to the bench by Harry Truman in 1949. He wrote a 15-page opinion to establish this point:

"In the circumstances, an inquiry directed to defendant as to the identity of the Communist Party writers with whom he foregathered for discussions of the works of communist writers would seem to be one logically calculated to produce information which could be of assistance to the committee in connection with its investigation of communistic passport activities in relation to the aforementioned matter of legislative concern."

. . . by any other name

THE NAVY announced that its new all-purpose missile . . . is named Zuni after the peace-loving New Mexico Indians.

Ithaca **Journal**, 5/7

Freedom to travel: A basic human right

The following editorial appeared in the Washington Post of May 12, 1957:

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE currently denies permission to all American citizens, with certain official exceptions, to travel to China, Albania, Bulgaria, North Korea and North Vietnam; for some months prior to April 1, it also imposed a blanket ban on travel to Israel, Jordan, Egypt and Syria. In addition, the Department arbitrarily denies to some American citizens permission to travel abroad anywhere. These limitations on the right to travel are enforced through a refusal to issue passports.

Although passports were not required for travel prior to the First World War, they have become in recent years a kind of exit permit without which no one can leave the country; and although even today they are, in fact, somewhat like birth certificates, mere documents of identity and nationality, the State Department uses them as instruments of policy, withholding them whenever it deems it to be in the national interest to do so. A serious question exists as to whether these restraints on freedom of movement—whether applied indiscriminately to certain areas or discriminately in regard to all travel abroad by suspected individuals—do not violate a basic American constitutional right.

There is, to be sure, no explicit guarantee in the Constitution; but freedom of movement has been recognized ever since *Magna Carta* in the common law of England and in the traditions of the United States as a right of free men. In 1948 the United States was among the signatories to a Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted unanimously by the General Assembly of the United Nations providing in Article 13: "Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country." In recent decisions, the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit has referred to the right to leave the country as "an attribute of personal liberty" and as "a natural right subject to the rights of others and to reasonable regulation under law."

NEVERTHELESS, it has been a crime since 1918 to leave or enter the United States without a passport in time of war; and in 1941 Congress gave the President authority to make the restriction applicable during periods of national emergency. An executive order forbids citizens to go abroad except in conformity with rules prescribed by the Secretary of State. Under this order the State Deparment denies passports on two grounds—one, that travel by ordinary American tourists might affect foreign relations and, two, that travel by persons suspected of Communist sympathies might impair national security.

Leaving out of consideration the vital constitutional issue involved, it is questionable whether, as a matter of national policy, the freedom of Americans ought to be limited so drastically at the mere discretion of a public official. The power to conduct foreign relations can hardly be held to imply a power to control all the acts of Americans which may affect foreign relations. Will Maslow, general counsel of the American Jewish Congress, pointed out recently in testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that American citizens in this country may, by acts or utterances, affect foreign relations more significantly than by routine tourist travel, yet the State Department has no power to regulate such acts or utterances. The Department may properly warn against travel into countries where danger exists, as in China, for example; but to prohibit such travel at the tourist's own risk seems a kind of paternalism wholly alien to the American tradition. The Department may refuse protection to such tourists; it ought not to refuse exit.

SO FAR AS SUSPECTED "security risks" are concerned, one cannot help wondering whether the power to deny passports is not more dangerous to liberty than the travel itself. It is true, of course, that disloyal persons might serve as Communist couriers or might do things abroad disadvantageous to the United States. But the danger is hardly so great as to justify reposing in a Passport Office an arbitrary authority to keep Americans at home.

Since freedom to travel is a basic human right, it ought to be denied, we believe, only when the exercise of it would facilitate a violation of law—that is, in the case of fugitives from justice, draft evaders or others seeking to escape lawful responsibilities. Perhaps it would be best to return the passport to its earlier status, that of a letter of introduction, which the Secretary of State could issue in his discretion to those of whose travel he approves and to whom he wishes to promise the protection of the American Government; but others wishing to go abroad should be able, as a matter of right, to obtain some lesser form of identification—a kind of *laissez passer*—which would enable them to travel at their own risk where and when they pleased.

MEXICAN-STYLE SOCIALISM IN ACTION

How an entire valley plans its welfare

By Hugh Hardyman
Special to Guardian

JALISCO, MEXICO

TOO MANY NORTH AMERICAN progressives think of Mexico only as a land of poverty, cruelty and violence, as if the paintings of Orozco and his followers portrayed all of contemporary life. Tourists may talk of the beggars and Cadillacs of Mexico City, of the glitter of Acapulco, but most people in Mexico are farmers living in villages, raising corn and beans for food in the brief season of rainfall. They are the people of Cardenas' Mexico, and in at least one valley they are showing how all Mexico could move forward with planning and purpose into a better life.

The only official position held by the beloved former president, Gen. Lazaro Cardenas, is that of Executive Director of the Commission of Tepalcatepec, the smaller of two commissions which are transforming the lives of some Mexicans. Modeled on the Tennessee Valley Authority, the Commission is controlling the Tepalcatepec and Cupatitzio rivers from their sources 5,000 feet above the sea and, by dams and syphons, aqueducts and power drops, developing power for industry and water for irrigation, turning the hot country of Michoacan from sparse cattle range to fertile farmland.

By carefully coordinated planning, highways and railroads, hospitals, schools and industrial plants are built simultaneously with the power lines and irrigation canals. In April arrangements were concluded with a German syndicate for construction of the final great work of the Commission's plan, a $70,000,000 hydroelectric plant and smelter adjacent to the Las Truchas mines, the largest iron deposits of Mexico, which lie near the mouth of the Rio Balsas in the hitherto inaccessible mountains bordering the Pacific. The Infiernillo Canyon plant will generate 360,000 kilowatts.

THE MEXICAN PEOPLE LOOK TO EX-PRESIDENT LAZARO CARDENAS
His planning commission in Tepalcatapec, modeled after our TVA, is developing power for industry and turning sparse cattle range to fertile farmland.

SINGING WATER: To see what the Commission has already accomplished, go to Uruapan, where the Cupatitzio, the River of Singing Water, springs from the rocks in a national park of extraordinary beauty. Follow the river to its first fall of 800 feet and see the power plant which lights the city of Uruapan. Take a trip through the Providencia textile mill owned by its workers and note the half-million pesos' worth of new machinery already paid for and awaiting installation, while the old machines continue to turn out 65,000 yards of cloth a week. Look at the modern architecture of the Forestry School, now two years old, and across the road the numerous buildings of the Agrotechnical School, which opened in March with the first class of its five-year course, preparing students for the National Agricultural College at Chapingo. Nearby is the artificial insemination station with its gleaming laboratory and four prize Holland bulls, capable of siring 500 calves per week.

Take the new highway beside the river to the Jicalan dam. Where the graceful concrete bridge spans a 250-ft. deep canyon see the great pipeline, nearly eight feet in diameter, which the bridge carries beneath its roadbed to the 1,800-ft. power drop of the Cobano hydro-electric plant. To see the plant itself, drive straight into the side of the mountain through a 300-yard tunnel at the end of which shining new turbines are turning the generators of 53,000 kw., bringing light to the villages and power to the new industries of Michoacan.

Below the plant stretches the great, hot valley of Apatzingan, former range for the cattle of two haciendas. One of these, Lombardia, is now a hospital supported by a prosperous ranch, the gift of Gen. Cardenas.

LEMON DESERT: With water from the Cupatitzio and the Tepalcatepec, 330,000 acres of desert are bright green with rice, lemons, sesame, melons and other crops. (To date, just 356,000 acres have been irrigated by the famous Grand Coulee.) At Apatzingan, which three years ago was a village of 3,000, street-paving has not been able to keep up with the increase to 25,000 inhabitants. But the new schools are there, the great new agricultural experiment station with its multi-colored buildings stretching for a mile along the highway, the lemon packing plant owned by the Ejido Credital with its conveyor belts handling 10,000 boxes a day.

Excluding the self-liquidating Cobano electric plant, the Commission had spent 180,000,000 pesos on the whole project to the end of 1956; in that one year the melon crop alone, from only 15,000 acres of the newly watered land, grossed 65,000,000 pesos, more than a third of the cost of the whole vast scheme of reclamation and construction.

As the pylons carry power across the land, the Ejido Credital Financiera advances money to the cooperative villages to build small plants, a sawmill at Tenaco, a paper mill at Karacha, which add mightily to the income of the farming communities. This is Mexican-style socialism in action and it works.

Quick, Henry, the paddle!

IT'S "secession time" again for the University of Arizona chapter of Kappa Alpha, national social fraternity, known for its Southern origin and traditions.

Each year the chapter withdraws from the union in a campus ceremony which features a parade of Confederates on horseback.

The Kappa Alpha members will "arrest" Dean of Men A. L. Slonaker and Dr. Darold L. Shutt, assistant dean, and will read a proclamation listing the indignities suffered at the hands of "Yankees."

The affair is a buildup for Kappa Alpha's annual Dixie Ball. Following the secession ceremony, the Confederate gentlemen will ride down sorority row, dispensing bids to the coeds invited to the ball.

Tucson Daily Star

A MODERN MANUAL FOR THE HOME LIBRARY

Radiation: What it is and what it does to you

IN OTHER TIMES few American households were without a handy home-guide to likely ailments. In a season when the newest and deadliest bombs light up the Nevada desert and when scientists' doubts conflict with politicians' certainties, there is a new manual for moderns. It rates an accessible spot on any shelf.

This handbook* is prepared by two of the nation's top atomic scientists: Dr. Jack Schubert, biologist and chemist, formerly with the Argonne Laboratory, U.S. delegate to the 1955 "Atoms for Peace" Conference, currently lecturing at the University of Chicago; and Dr. Ralph E. Lapp, physicist, formerly with the Manhattan Project that developed the A-Bomb, and the Argonne Laboratory, and adviser to the top military echelons on nuclear physics. Both now offer their wisdom less to the brass than to the rank-and-file.

The peril they concern themselves with is the unceasing bombardment of the human body by rays from a variety of sources. Some are natural and inevitable. Others are side-effects of necessary medical treatment but often excessive due to negligence, misuse of equipment, or the quackery of medical big business. With the construction of atomic energy plants, the problem of how to live in a nuclear age becomes pressing. And with the vast menace of the fall-out, silently poisoning the air, water and soil, everyone must become familiar with these shadowy rays just as an earlier generation learned to talk glibly of equally invisible germs and viruses.

THE EFFECTS OF RADIATION are substantially the same whether the source is the dentist's machine, the waste product of a peaceful atomic plant producing electricity, or the H-Bomb. All radiation damages the human cell structure, tending to create mutations. In most body cells these mutations may pass on their deformed structure as they reproduce themselves. In the generative cells they may pass on deformities to future generations.

Drs. Schubert and Lapp describe sharply and vividly the nature of these rays, but they do not argue against them as if they were exorcising devils. They merely offer the balance sheet. Plainly there is more good than evil in the X-ray machines and the authors do not urge a campaign to destroy them. Dentists, diagnosticians and therapists must continue to X-ray, weighing the damage to the body against the insight X-ray photos give, or the power X-rays have to destroy malignancies.

There is danger, though, in the absence of control over X-ray administrators; the great numbers of doctors who do not know the power of their machines; the excessive, often needless use of fluoroscopes which can deliver as much radiation to a child in a year of regular examinations as the maximum permitted to a worker in an atomic energy plant. There is danger in the quacks who have killed thousands with radiation as a means of removing unwanted hair; in the foolishness of shoe retailers who in most parts of the country are still permitted to run X-ray machines to help the fitting or beguile the children.

Drawing by Fred Wright

"Fore!"

THE AUTHORS CITE as "vivid propaganda" a booklet published in 1955 by The Medical Division of Eastman Kodak Co., plugging X-ray film. It urges pregnant women to have X-rays to check on the possibilities of twins, although the authors cite statistics and the highest medical authorities on the dangers of X-rays to embryos. The booklet cheerfully plugs X-rays for the kiddies and urges parents to make such examinations "exciting and entertaining." Lapp and Schubert are shocked to find no word of caution in the booklet though X-rays can be deadly when excessively administered and the danger is greatest to children.

The glib cheeriness of the Atomic Energy Commission is taken apart in chapters on the fall-out. The authors point out that even if one took the AEC's low estimate, indicating that strontium-90 or other bomb by-products affect only .1% of the population, the damage is far from negligible. In a small group, .1% is a negligible fraction, but .1% of the world's population is 2,500,000 people whose lives cannot be considered negligible. Exploding bombs at the rate of 10 megatons a year (and 1957 looks like a bigger boom year than that) would, by such calculating, affect 100,000 people annually.

ACTUALLY RECENT TESTIMONY by scientists in Washington (see p. 1) indicates that the fall-out is not spread uniformly but concentrated in temperate zones so that the radioactive strontium is falling about us and being absorbed inside us in greater quantities than previously supposed. It is just this tentative state of our knowledge that the authors cite as the best argument against the bomb. We know there is danger and disagree only on how much; yet the bombs continue to go off; the radioactive materials rise up, eventually to fall and be absorbed by us, all the time emitting their damaging rays.

How poisoned are we? The authors cite the distinguished geneticist Prof. H. J. Muller who, on the basis of AEC figures, calculates that we have already passed on to our descendants as many harmful mutations as we inflicted upon the Japanese at Hiroshima.

How deadly are these rays that we cannot see or feel? The incidence of leukemia is nine times greater among radiologists than among other males, their life-span is 5.2 years less than the average. They are in an exposed position, it may be said, but they receive less than twice the amount of radiation weekly set by the AEC as a general public safety standard.

DRS. SCHUBERT AND LAPP have two kinds of solution. For the individual, there is a list of questions which every patient might put to his doctor, asking in effect, is this X-ray necessary? There are cautions against the well-meaning but unaware physician who neglects to guard himself or his patient against the rays; there are warnings of murderous quacks; and the recommendation that everyone begin to record his family's intake of roentgens. Detachable forms for logging radiation come with the book.

As a collective solution the authors propose a Natl. Radiation Control Service to license X-ray administrators, investigate and measure all harmful radiation and educate the public. The authors do not concern themselves with another safeguard that is now a matter of both economic and physical health: public control of the growing atomic industry so that it is not entrusted to interests which may in a ledger put down the danger to unborn generations as a calculated business risk.

It is a sobering handbook countering the airy pronouncements of the AEC with Bertrand Russell's survey of opinion on the atomic risks: "I have found that the men who know most are most gloomy."

—Elmer Bendiner

**RADIATION: WHAT IT IS AND HOW IT AFFECTS YOU, by Jack Schubert and Ralph E. Lapp. Viking, 625 Madison Ave., N.Y. 22. 314 pp. $3.95.*

Bomb test ban

(Continued from Page 1)

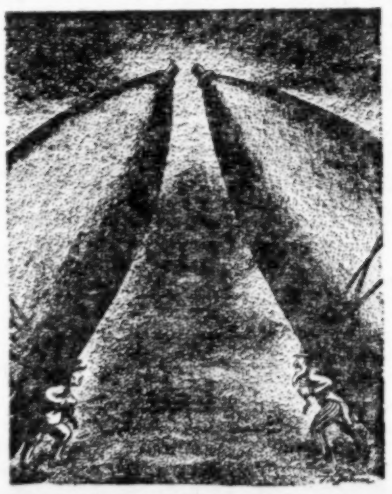
THOSE WHO SIGNED: Joining in the appeal were two other Nobel Prize winners, geneticist Dr. H. J. Muller of Indiana U. and physiologist Dr. Joseph Erlanger of Washington U. Also on the list and among those who joined Dr. Pauling in circulating the appeal was Prof. L. H. Snyder, president of the American Assn. for the Advancement of Science. The Appeal idea was born last May 15 when Dr. Pauling was lecturing at Washington U. He told the students and faculty there that there was no real disagreement among the scientists experienced in radiation effects: they were almost unanimous in estimating the magnitude of biological damage.

Dr. Pauling said the response to his lecture was "so enthusiastic as to suggest that a statement be prepared . . ." At Washington U. 102 signed it at once, including almost all members of the scientific departments.

In a TV broadcast on June 2 Dr. Pauling predicted that fall-out from tests already made would be responsible for 200,000 mentally or physically defective children in each of the next 20 generations. He said that unless the tests were stopped, about 1,000,000 people would have their lives shortened by five to 10 years. In an interview last April Dr. Pauling said that some 10,000 persons were dead or dying of leukemia as the result of the tests.

SPREAD OF FALL-OUT: In Washington the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, chaired by Rep. Chet Holifield (D-Calif.), was in its second week of hearings on radiation. The first week's testimony concerned the spread of fall-out. The second week was to probe the biological and genetic effects of radiation. These were the highlights of the testimony.

At least three Atomic Energy Commission scientists broke with the official AEC view that the tests can be continued at the present rate for decades, if not indefinitely. Dr. Wright Langham of the Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory, Dr. Merril Eisenbud of AEC'c N.Y. office and Dr. William F. Neuman of the University of Rochester all called for an international limit on testing. Dr. Neuman, sketching formulas on a blackboard for the legislators, took the grimmest view: that the atmosphere might already be "very close to loaded" with the cancer-producing strontium-90 and that the world could afford no more than one hydrogen bomb explosion—like the U.S. 1954 blast at Bikini—every seven years.



Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post-Dispatch

"Suppose we both sit down and rest a while."

NEW YORK RAINWATER: Lester Machta, Weather Bureau meteorologist, testified that evidence acquired only a week before the hearings indicated that the fall-out was not dispersed uniformly around the world, as AEC statisticians had forecast. He said that instead there were formidable concentrations in the temperate zones, including the U.S., leading him to expect far higher levels of strontium-90 in those areas than had been anticipated by AEC statisticians. New York rainwater, he said, had shown a sharp rise in strontium-90 since 1954, though it was not yet at the danger point.

AEC spokesman Dr. Charles L. Dunham abandoned the view that tests constituted no risks. He said these risks must be weighed against the advantages of weapons testing and creation of atomic energy for peacetime uses. Dr. Thomas Parran, former Surgeon General of the U.S. Public Health Service, said in New York, meanwhile, that scientists ought not to concentrate exclusively on fall-out dangers but should consider the grave problem of atomic "garbage," the radioactive waste products of atomic industry. He called radiation the nation's first health problem of the future.

BIG 4 MEETING URGED: As authoritative warnings piled up, Sen. Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.) proposed a Big-Four meeting of representatives of the U.S., Britain, France and the Soviet Union to discuss banning thermonuclear bomb tests, which would draw the line at H-Bomb blasts but presumably permit smaller atomic bomb tests.

Former President Harry S. Truman was calm. In an article for the North American Newspaper Alliance he called for "horse sense" and asked people not to be panicked by Soviet-inspired "propaganda of the horrors of the fall-out intended primarily to cripple the defense efforts of the West."

In Nevada, meanwhile, the AEC described its first two bombs as "clean" with "only minor fall-out." The first one, half the size of the bomb that destroyed Hiroshima, was touched off on May 28 from a tower 500 feet high. Advance AEC publicity said the fireball "will not suck up surface debris into the cloud." But N.Y. **Times** correspondent Gladwin Hill wrote that the "ground dust was so roiled that for many minutes the 'mushroom' actually had the shape of a dumbbell." It is this radioactive debris, characteristic of a "dirty bomb," that makes the fall-out deadlier.

On June 2 when the series' second bomb went off—to a drum-roll of press releases about "minor fall-out"—the radioactive air mass of the first bomb was still hanging over Oregon, Washington and Utah.

Negro registration

(Continued from Page 1)

ing to the UP, he personally called for the defeat of the Negro candidate in a run-off election. That candidate was 48-year-old T. M. Alexander, insurance executive, second high man in Atlanta's primary for alderman. The Governor's public statement endorsed Alexander's white opponent, 52-year-old Jack Summers, a barber supply salesman, as a "capable and well-informed man who is in complete sympathy with the preservation of the traditions and customs of the Southern people." Summers defeated Alexander in the run-off 27,000 to 21,000.

Atlanta University president Rufus E. Clement was reelected to the Atlanta Board of Education with a total city-wide vote of 35,067 to 28,619 for Charlie Vaughn, his white opponent. Approximately 15,000 white votes went to Dr. Clement.

NEEDED—POWER: Elsewhere in the nation, North and South, the vote campaign was getting into high gear.

A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and an AFL-CIO vice-president, urged the Pittsburgh local of the Brotherhood's Ladies Auxiliary last week to help this "crusade . . . so that every door of every house in every city and hamlet of this nation will be knocked on."

The Pittsburgh **Courier** (6/1) quoted Randolph:

"To gain first-class citizenship you need power. You've got to take what you want, and, to take what you want in this democratic society, you need power. To have power, you've got to have organization . . . There ought to be 100% of Negroes in every community going to the polls . . . Then we won't have to beg for our rights."

Rep. Charles C. Diggs Jr. (D-Mich.), speaking to the Mississippi State NAACP right after the Prayer Pilgrimage, urged Negro Mississippians to make the right to vote their "number one target."

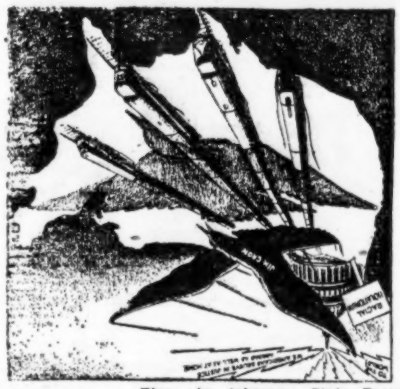
MOVE—COUNTER MOVE: While the Baltimore **Afro-American** (5/25) was reporting plans by Alabama State Sen. Engelhardt for "last resort" legislation to kill integration in Macon County by abolishing that political subdivision (87% of its population is Negro), the **UP** (5/22) was reporting that "Montgomery Negroes will begin a registration drive [in June] with the goal of electing Negroes to the State Legislature and Congress."

Harlem's Rep. Adam C. Powell, meanwhile, had both old-line parties speculating on the meaning of his call at the Pilgrimage for a "Third Force," which should be "non-partisan, non-denominational and non-racial" and which, to gain its ends, would employ "passive resistance . . . work stoppages, economic boycotts, mass demonstrations, sit-down strikes, slow-downs and picket lines."

N.C., 26%; B.G., 75%: Sen. Sam J. Ervin (D-N.C.) is among the opponents of Negro suffrage who say the Negro's relatively low registration comes from "apathy." That was his answer when NAACP exec. secy. Roy Wilkins protested Negro disfranchisement to the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights last Feb. 19. Wilkins, in a follow-up letter, told Ervin it was "fair to deduce that a policy is in operation in North Carolina designed deliberately to restrict the registration of Negro citizens to vote." Wilkins dramatized his point: "That policy allows only 26% of N. Carolina's eligible Negro voters to register, as compared to 75% in British Guiana."

FLORIDA AND VIRGINIA: "Apathy," however, is spelled differently in Florida. Pittsburgh **Courier** writer Al Dunmore (6/1) said that in Leon County—containing Tallahassee, the capital—Negroes withdrew their names from the books "after registering." He said:

"The Negroes themselves state their anxiety to vote, but they claim they cannot withstand the pressures brought to bear. The **Courier** knows both the state and the Federal government have been informed that this situation exists, but nothing has been done about it. As a result, Negroes are openly disfranchised



Plous in Arkansas State Press

"But he is still riding trains out of the nation's capital."

through threats and, at times, have been actually beaten when they attempted to go to the polls."

Florida Negroes announced June 9 as statewide "NAACP Sunday." On that day the fund-raising drive for $25,000 and 10,000 members, begun on April 14, was to end, with register-and-vote talks by leaders of the year-old Tallahassee anti-jimcrow bus movement and out-of-state guests.

Main barriers to voting in Virginia are unpaid poll taxes. But "a record 142,900" voters in northern Virginia (Washington **Post**, 5/18) paid 1956 poll taxes to qualify as voters in the November elections. The Norfolk, Va., **Journal and Guide** said many thousand of this total were Negroes.

WHAT IKE SAID: That the Southern Negro has a long road ahead is demonstrated by the fact that his most notable achievements in recent municipal elections were two city council posts and a place on Atlanta's Board of Education. In Chapel Hill, N.C., Negro and white voters united to reelect Negro Alderman Hubert S. Robinson. He was a utility worker at the University of N. Carolina in 1953 when he defeated a professor. In Durham, N.C., on May 18, "it was the record colored vote" that reelected Mayor Evans (he is Jewish) and his "liberal slate," said the **Journal and Guide**, and elected Negro businessman John S. Stewart to the City Council.

In a telephoned pep-talk to a strategy meeting of leaders from 12 Southern states in Louisville, Ky., last month, President Eisenhower said:

"Lack of enthusiasm in the South for Republican candidates for other than the Presidency is not due entirely to the Civil War. There are a number of things wrong with Republicanism in the South. One is that Republicans are trying to build a lily-white party there. The effort to do that is given support from Washington. Roughly, the 12 states represented at Louisville have more than 1,000,000 Negro voters. That is quite a bloc of voters for any political party not to make a bid for. The Republican party cannot expect to be a major political factor in Southern states if it allows Negro voters to reach the conclusion that their hopes for civil rights will be best served by the election of a Republican President, but all their other interests will be best served by the election of Democrats to all other political offices."

HELP THE LORD: Did it occur to President Eisenhower that his refusal to speak out against anti-Negro violence caused the 27,000-strong political demonstration on May 17? Considerable Negro opinion holds that neither those Republican leaders nor the President's Democratic supporters have comprehended the significance of King's cry to "Give us the ballot!" nor Powell's call for a "Third Force."

N.Y. City Councilman Earl Brown seemed to express majority Negro opinion in the N.Y. **Amsterdam News** when he wrote: "[President Eisenhower, his cabinet and his congressional supporters] are politicians, and the only language they understand is the language of political power and action. Unfortunately, they are not easily moved by prayer. Especially where the race question is concerned. So let's help the Lord. Let's organize for action."

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NATIONALITIES FESTIVAL

Paul Robeson sings in L. A. June 23

PAUL ROBESON will sing in person at the 7th Annual Festival of Nationalities on Sunday, June 23, at the Croatian Auditorium and Picnic Grounds, 11625 Budlong Av., Los Angeles, it was announced last week by the L.A. Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

The all-day affair, an annual presentation of costumed nationality group performers, exhibits of folk arts and crafts, and food of all nations, honors Americans of foreign birth and their contributions to American cultural life. This year it will have as its theme the revision of the Walter-McCarran Law by the 85th Congress.

A Committee spokesman said: "We will have representation from all communities, Negro, Mexican, Jewish, and all nationalities, and a large youth delegation, to greet Paul Robeson before he begins his concert, in a colorful pageant honoring this people's artist for his great contributions."

Tickets may be obtained from the Committee's offices at 326 W. 3rd St., Room 318; Progressive Bookshop; Hugh Gordon Bookshop, and **Freiheit** office. Admission is 90 cents, students 50 cents, children under 12 free.

Inflation goat

(Continued from Page 1)

constantly rising inflationary spiral. Who among you will gasp in surprise when told the government's analysis, through a Labor Dept. study, blames, not price gougers, but labor?

"The conclusion of the study quite positively states, 'Wages and salaries have risen far faster in the decade than has the productivity of working people—that is, their output for each hour worked.' Says the report, payments to labor have risen 61% in the past ten years. Productivity has risen only 26%."

But the reaction of the executive council of the AFL-CIO was a curious one. It did not attack the Labor Dept. report itself but went after the N.Y. **Times** instead; it charged that the paper "grossly misinterpreted" the study and had "manipulated" it into "distortions."

EXECUTIVE SILENCE: Said the executive council: "We call upon the Secy. of Labor to speak out publicly on this issue. We urge him to explain his department's report and sweep away the distortions . . ."

But big industry found the new government attitudes to its liking. It expected the Senate probe to lead to tougher laws against labor and it saw in the Eisenhower economic analysis an opportunity not only to boost prices again but to stiffen its resistance to new wage

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"Now here is yet another way of showing that wages are as high as profits."

demands.

Steel prices are set to go up from $5 to $8.50 a ton on July 1 and Roger Blough, head of U.S. Steel, has blamed the boost on an estimated 6% increase in labor costs already provided for in existing contracts with the union.

PRESIDENT IGNORED: A few days later John S. Bugas, Ford vice-president in charge of industrial relations, told a college forum that "excessive demands" by labor are boosting the cost of living. He said that wages and fringe benefits have gone up 5% a year in key industries since 1954 and declared: "Increases of this magnitude could not be absorbed through greater productivity."

The oil and chemical workers union of the AFL-CIO reported this month that major companies across the country are holding firm on wage offers of only 5%—only a strike threat got them that high. President O. A. Knight wrote bitterly:

"The President urged restraint on both price increases and wage increases. But the oil industry ignored the President when it raised prices on crude and products several weeks ago. It found use for the President's words, in contrast, when it came to discussing wage increases with its employes. It's unfortunate that the oil industry did not demonstrate similar concern about the dangers of inflation before it raised prices."

ON THE OTHER SIDE: On its side, labor is demanding a Congressional investigation of the relation between prices, wages and profits, preferably by the Anti-Monopoly Subcommittee headed by Sen. Estes Kefauver.

In testimony before the Congressional Joint Economic Committee, the AFL-CIO cited two recent examples of unjustified price increases: (1) When steel workers won a 20c-an-hour increase last year which cost the U. S. Steel Corp. $80,000,000, steel prices were raised for an aggregate gain of $230,000,000—which set off similar increases in other industries; (2) The oil industry recently raised prices by 35c a barrel without any change in the wage level.

Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.) said recently on the Senate floor: "Before the Administration self-righteously accuses wage earners as being responsible for record high prices, I would suggest that they pause to give serious attention to the behavior of certain large and powerful corporations." He cited American Telegraph & Telephone whose profits increased 223% while its wages rose only 37%, and Standard Oil of N.J., whose profits went up 197% while wages rose only 42%.

SINCE THE WAR: Labor's **Daily** traced wage and price developments since the end of World War II: "At that time, after wages were frozen during the war and the cost of living had zoomed 45%—not to mention some 70% profit increases for big industry—workers tried to catch up. But the records show for every wage increase in basic industries there have been price increases far beyond the cost of the pay hike. And the price boosts reflect through the entire economy. The boys who got fat during the war just weren't interested in dieting. They'd prefer to see labor stay lean."

Labor wasn't getting fat. The most recent budget recommended for a wage earner by the Heller Committee of the University of California calls for about $104 a week for a family of four renting a home. Some 76% of American workers have incomes below that. Meanwhile the cost of living index has gone up for the eighth straight month in a row, and the Dept. of Labor predicts that the steady increase will continue through July, with a fall in the purchasing power of average earnings.

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Foreign Born picnic in N.J. June 23

THE third Annual Festival and Picnic of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born will be held on Sunday, June 23, at Camp Midvale in Wanaque, N.J. It will be a full-day observance of the role and contributions of foreign-born Americans to the building and development of the U.S. Admission is $1 a person, children free.

Tickets, in person and by mail, may be purchased at the offices of the American Committee, Room 405, 49 E. 21st St., New York 10, N.Y. Arrangements are being made for bus transportation from New York to Camp Midvale.

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THE MAIL BAG

Ban nuclear tests

FREEPORT, ME.

All mothers know the innocence and complete guilelessness of a baby. They know that the world will be to him only what he learns it to be. They want to spare him the cynicism and misery of a world in which profit motive so often destroys concern for human welfare. Yet right at this moment there are people who can condemn him and all the children of the world and of eternity to a bleak and distorted future, full of grief, pain, death and hereditary chaos —for no other reason than their ignorant desire for profit.

These are people who are in positions of power in the world and yet they are not striving for the health and welfare of all human beings, but only of a few. As long as the testing of nuclear weapons continues, more and more of our precious children will be condemned to sickness and pain and ultimate death because a few people thought more of themselves than humanity.

I urgently appeal to all mothers who hope for a good world for their children to write to the President now. Ask him to agree to immediate cessation of nuclear tests. Unite in protest now before it is too late and the problem falls into the lap of tampered nature.

Sue R. Raubeson

Stark folly

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Either Mr. Dulles is cruelly insensitive to the many grave warnings about dangers to the human race that scientists have made public, and of protests and appeals by churchmen and organizations as well as pacifist groups; or he fanatically thinks that the more tests and developments of nuclear weapons the better able would be the U.S. to defend the free world. But millions of people are growing alarmed at the rate water, air and soil are being contaminated with radio-active elements each new test adds in quick succession. Mr. Dulles' reliance on preparedness for nuclear war as the most likely way for attaining peace is stark folly.

Shakespeare rightly said:
"How oft the sight of means
to do ill deeds
Makes ill deeds done."

A. Garcia Diaz

Precedent

BRONX, N. Y.

Whether Mr. Dulles considered himself an angel or a devil when delivering his speech to the Associated Press, he revealed the true intent of his honeyed words in this:

"Indeed, history suggests that a conflict as basic as that dividing the world of freedom and the world of international communism ultimately erupts in war."

No matter what pious protestations Mr. Dulles delivered himself of in the paragraph following this revelation, the world will never forget that Adolph Hitler drenched the world in a blood bath not long ago because he held the same philosophy.

Miriam Stern

Let me tell you . . .

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

The enclosed letter from my niece in Odessa, U.S.S.R., might interest GUARDIAN readers. She is Jewish, a violinist and mother of a 12-year-old son. She writes:

You undoubtedly crave for news regarding our way of life. I want to make one thing clear and that is that we would be perfectly happy to live and work in peace. The hope to be able to do so is the wish of everyone in our land. You know our war losses and sacrifices in both men and material. Slowly the wounds are healing, cities are being rebuilt and flowers bloom once again.

We occupy a large steam-heated apartment with bath and other comforts. Last New Year's eve we celebrated at home in the company of friends most of whom are engineers and scientific workers. Wonderful people! There were fifteen of us. It was for the sake of grandma, who is 85, and my young son that the party was held at our home. We had a wonderful time! For the food that was served I would like to claim credit; I just love to set the dinner table.

Let me tell you what we had to eat: all sorts of appetizers—caviar, sardines, sturgeon and crabmeat wrapped in cabbage leaves (our favorite dish called 'silos'). Of course, the traditional gefilte fish and jelly of pigs' feet followed by meat dumplings (**sloenye piroshki**) and roast duck stuffed with apples, etc., etc. For dessert we had our favorite cake made of chocolate, sweet cream and eggs, without flour. There were also apples and oranges and champagne and Georgian wine. As you see we live rather "modestly", thank god. And our god is peace.

My son was awarded a scholarship last September for excellent school work. Recently he played at a school concert and received favorable reports in two newspapers. In October he was invited to the city of Nikolaev, to appear with a symphony orchestra in a concert of music of the Soviet composer Kabalevsky.

Here, I have said so much, but I want you to have some idea of our way of life. And now with our best wishes to you and yours. Your loving niece.

Name Withheld

London Sunday Times

"One can be preoccupied by H-bombs or pension plans, but not, surely, by both."

Benefits disabled

NEW YORK, N. Y.

House Bill HR 1154, by Rep. Eugene J. Keogh (D-N.Y.), benefits disabled veterans and civilians who have orthopedic disabilities of the limbs or extremities. This bill grants an additional tax exemption and deductions for transportation expenses to and from work not to exceed $600 for those unable to use the ordinary means of transportation, but who usually have to hire taxis or use their own car with expensive appliances to operate it.

This Bill is equitable and humanitarian and warrants the support of all Americans. It would also tend to encourage the severely handicapped to become tax-paying citizens and be taken off the public relief rolls. The majority of the disabled orthopedically are in the low-income group, and because of the high tax structure as it is today, they cannot save any money for a time when it is needed.

Readers should write to their own Congressmen and Reps. Jere Cooper and Wilbur D. Mills of the Ways and Means Committee, House of Representatives, urging it favorably out of Committee. Veterans are urged to request their local posts to request support of this legislation.

S. Perone

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I Know Where I'm Going
Woody's Rag & 900 Miles
Sixteen Tons
Follow The Drinking Gourd
When the Saints Go Marching In
I've Got a Home in That Rock
Hush Little Baby
Go Where I Send Thee
Goodnight Irene

*A WORD specially designed to describe fantastically exciting and fabulously recorded albums of folk music. There has never been an album like this and there won't be another until The Weavers record again. You can enjoy a forty-minute concert of fantabulous music every night with this album.

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The album sells for $4.98 at most stores; some discount houses sell it for less but add postage and handling charges on mail orders. Because we would like every Guardian family to have a copy, our price is

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Swap cooks

You must do away with your Iron Curtain and not be afraid of Soviet cooks arriving in the United States —I don't think they will make any revolution in your country.

—Khrushchev on CBS-TV, 6/2/57

CROSS OUR HEART and hope to live to 154, we had put down that Charlotte & Dyson Carter book, **Health & Long Life,** for the rest of the Spring season, when along came K. on TV. Where else could we turn to see what a Soviet chef might do if he stuck his ladle into our cookeries?

First thing he'd do (say the Carters) is insist on white tablecloths at every meal—breakfast, dinner or snack.

Why? Well, Pavlov taught that white is the best background for the "visual perception" of food which is an important factor in digestion and assimilation.

AND NO DEEP discussions during meals, either. Pavlov even went further: he said digestion and nutrition are much improved if a person trains the mind to banish serious thought at mealtime. Imagine what this would do to the businessmen's luncheons on Wall Street or those radio-TV interview programs like "Luncheon at Bickford's" or the Madison Avenue skull sessions where they meet to throw up ideas!

PAVLOV ALSO disputed the old saying, "Hunger is the best seasoning." He said that from a nutritional point of view, the best seasoning is a wide variety of good food. So, if you were a Soviet miner and got to spend a month at the health resort at Sochi on the Black Sea, you'd have 15 standard diets to choose from, five meals a day, and you'd never see the same menu twice.

WHILE YOU'RE figuring out how many choices that would be in a 28-day vacation as compared with Camp Nitgedaiget, you might check on the variety in your own diet.

Short of placing a Pavlovian chef in every household, one answer to diet problems is food supplements. Pick the one that's best for you below.

VITAMIN-MINERAL FORMULA
For general use
Nationally advertised brand: $5.25
Guardian Price:
100 capsules, $2.75 ppd.

THERAPEUTIC FORMULA
For run-down & Convalescents
Nationally advertised brand: $9.45
Guardian price:
100 capsules, $3.95 ppd.

GERIATRIC FORMULA
For 35 yr. olds and up
Nationally advertised brand: $7.11
Guardian Price:
100 capsules, $3.75 ppd.

the SPECTATOR

London: Whaddaya read?

LONDON

THE GREAT PRESS MONOPOLY tightens its grip on the British people. Already a handful of powerful newspaper combines control the daily newspapers read by the majority of the population. Now, the last of the popular morning newspapers with some semblance of independence is threatened with extinction: the **News Chronicle** is negotiating an amalgamation with the **Daily Herald.** The talks are behind closed doors. Thousands of workers in the many departments that make up a great newspaper are being kept completely in the dark. There has not even been consultation with their trade unions. That is the way newspaper amalgamations are always carried out, because the combined paper always hopes to hold on to the readership of both the former publications. One morning both sets of readers find the amalgamated publication on their breakfast table.

Drawing by Dyad, London
"Have you got one that runs on hot air?"

The **News Chronicle** swallowed two daily papers, the **Westminster Gazette** and the **Daily Chronicle,** just like that. When the **Daily Chronicle** was swallowed in 1933, the staff was preparing for the next day's paper up to late evening. At that time I was an assistant news editor of the Press Association, the big news agency. At 4 p.m. I was assured by the **Chronicle** Editor that the paper was going on. Two hours later, the senior staff was called in and told the paper was dead.

NOW the **News Chronicle** is itself threatened. The immediate cause of the crisis is the intensification of the competition for advertising. Millions of dollars are being diverted by the big advertisers from the newspapers to commercial television. On these programs the long-suffering public is forced to watch advertisements for cosmetics, medicines, soap powders, and so on, sandwiched between concerts, plays, and other program items. Most of the big money spent on advertisements, which alone make possible capitalist newspaper publication, comes from the big monopoly concerns. They are tending to use the papers produced by the most powerful combines, the **Daily Mirror** with the nearly five million readers, the **Daily Express** with more than four million, the **Daily Mail** and the **Daily Sketch** with about three million between them. Recently an agreement among the papers restricting the number of pages in each issue lapsed. The richer papers put on more pages and got more advertising, leaving the **News Chronicle** and the **Herald,** whose circulations are below the two million mark, well behind.

But the **Herald** is published by Odhams Press, which owns the four million-circulation Sunday paper, **The People,** as well as an empire of weekly papers. In 1929, the **Daily Herald,** which had been built up as a genuine organ of the Labour Party by the devoted self-sacrifice of its supporters, rather like the London **Daily Worker** is today, was handed over to Odhams. The Trades Union Congress had 49% of the shares, and four of nine directors. There was an agreement that policy would be laid down by the Labour Party and the T.U.C. Conferences, but real control rested with the 51% shareholding of the Odhams Directors. Recently, the Odhams nominees have been steadily reducing the political content of the paper. Now it looks as if they are anxious to drop the T.U.C., take over the **News Chronicle** with its evening paper companion, the **Star,** and use the Odhams resources to compete with the other press combines.

LAST MINUTE DIFFICULTIES may prevent a deal. But the rumors have already damaged the advertising revenue of both papers and a crisis seems inevitable. What is certain is that the situation creates a crisis for the Labour Movement. Can the trade unions and the Labour Party produce an independent paper in the face of the intensified competition of today? If they cannot, what chance is there of any section of the capitalist press giving any publicity to the progressive side of Labour policy?

Fortunately, in the last two years, **Reynolds News,** the Sunday paper of the Co-operative Movement has been producing an intelligent paper, after abandoning the futile attempt to beat the rest of the Sunday press with pornography. But it lost readership steadily when it was forced to abandon its progressive policies by presure from right-wing Labour leaders. It has the facilities to produce a daily paper, but it is doubtful if it could succeed.

In the face of this situation the **Daily Worker** has made a tremendous achievement in maintaining publication for more than a quarter of a century. It gets no advertisement from big business and relies on a fund subscribed monthly by its readers and on the self-sacrifice of its staff. At the moment it, too, is faced with tremendous difficulties, but the fate of the **Herald** may bring it new support.

To complete the picture, the **Times** and the **Manchester Guardian** are governed by Trusts, which at least protect them from becoming the plaything of the monopolies. But their readership is small. There are some independent newspapers published in provincial towns, but control of the provincial press is steadily coming into the hands of the same handful of newspaper combines.

Gordon Schaffer